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EDITORIAL

To mark the hundredth anniversary of the death of Edwin Waugh we are able to publish a centenary article by Brian Hollingworth, and also what we think is an unpublished piece of writing by Waugh himself. This must count as something of a scoop. The greatness of Waugh is plain to all his readers, and the tradition of dialect writing in which he was not the only brilliant representative. A century ago our county held a population who knew all about poverty, and had experienced all the less pleasant consequences of rapid urban development and industrialisation; but it was a population also with a culture of its own, and with voices to represent it.

In this number we start what we hope will be a continuing tradition of publishing the poems which won the two trophies awarded by the judges of the Society's Dialect Verse Writing Competition, which is held annually at the Fylde Folk Festival, in Fleetwood. A note about the 1989 competition appears later in the Journal. The quality of last year's winners shows that we still have skilful poets around.

The Lancashire Dialect Society was founded in 1951 and will therefore, as Peter Wright notes later in these pages, celebrate its ruby anniversary next year. The fortieth number of the Journal will do what it can to reflect this. Meanwhile, there is at present a smaller anniversary to notice: this is the tenth issue of the Journal to be edited by the present editor. I conclude this editorial, therefore, by thanking the committee and members for the pleasure of having been able to serve them in this way, and to play my own part in furthering the support and study of one major regional dialect. JL

The Presidency of the Lancashire Dialect Society

Members will know that since the death of Professor G.L. Brook, the Society has been without a President.

The Secretary is pleased to announce that Mr Clifford Heyworth has been kind enough to agree to accept the office.

Mr Heyworth is, of course, 'Bill o' Bows', the dialect poet. He was one of the Founder Members of the Society in 1951, and indeed was invited to be the first guest speaker of the Society, in November of that year. He talked on "Lancashire Dialect, Old and New". The first issue of the Journal reported: 'Mr Heyworth's recital of several old dialect favourites followed by a number of his own works was greatly appreciated, and a further recital by this outstanding writer of Lancashire dialect has already been requested by many members'.

That same first issue included Mr Heyworth's own poem, 'Wom Agen - Demobbed'.

Mr Heyworth is the third President the Society has had, in succession to Sir Harold Parkinson and Professor Brook.

The Centenary of Edwin Waugh's Death

Edwin Waugh, the greatest of the Lancashire dialect writers, died one hundred years ago,on the 30th of April 1890. For more than three years he had been suffering from cancer of the mouth. He died at his home in New Brighton and his coffin was brought by train for burial at St. Paul's Church, Kersal. Here he had lived for several years before his move to the Wirral.

His old friend Francis Espinasse describes the occasion in these terms;

> On the first of Saturday of May,1890,... toiling and money-making Manchester presented an unusual spectacle. For two and a half miles from the railway station named after that busiest of human beehives, the Exchange of Manchester, onwards and upwards towards Kersal Moor, from which there is a panoramic view of the great industrial city, with its church steeples and mill chimneys looming athwart a canopy of smoke, there stood on either side of the roadway thousands of spectators reverently doffing their hats and caps as a hearse with the coffined remains of one well known and endeared to them wended on its way towards Kersal Church and graveyard. As the hearse passed them the spectators fell in behind it to swell the funeral cortege, in which were the Mayors of Manchester and Salford in their carriages, with other representatives of local municipal officialism, and with deputations from most of the populous towns by which Manchester

is belted.' (Manchester Guardian: 3 July 1893).

Such scenes of public mourning for a local writer and poet seem quite remarkable, particularly in the light of the lack of attention given to local writing today, but Waugh was indeed a remarkable man who had gained a unique place in the affections of the ordinary working people of Lancashire. The description of this Northern funeral is reminiscent of contemporary accounts of the London funeral of Charles Dickens twenty years before where again ordinary people, not scholars or artists, stood in homage in the streets. They stood there for much the same reason. Both writers had identified themselves with the common man and woman, and by their writing given them status and dignity.

The outlines of Edwin Waugh's life are well known to those interested in Lancashire dialect literature. He was born on the 29th of January in 1817 'in an old house which formed part of the building of the old Clock face Inn' at the bottom of Toad Lane in Rochdale (Robertson W. Old and New Rochdale and Its People: 1881 p.168). His father died when he was eight and for some time the Waugh family lived in a cellar. At the age of twelve he went to work for the Rochdale bookseller Holden and then trained as a journeyman printer, travelling about the country, before returning to work with Holden. In 1847 he took a job with the Lancashire Public Schools Association as Assistant Secretary under Espinasse, and made the significant move to Manchester where he was to live for most of his remaining life. His literary aspirations are evident in the Diary which he was writing at this time, but it was not until 1855 when his series of prose Sketches of Lancashire Life and Localities was published, closely followed in 1856 by his most famous poem, Come Whoam to thi Childer, that his reputation was

established. From then onwards Waugh published dialect pieces in both prose and poetry.Significant dates were the publication of his Poems and Songs in 1859, and another edition of his Poems in 1870. By 1860 he was doing well enough to become a full-time writer, though his financial position was never secure. Through the sixties and seventies and into the eighties, Waugh and fellow writers such as Ben Brierley added to their income by giving readings of their work throughout Lancashire and further afield. Waugh was never a prolific writer, and by 1867 memorials were being made on his behalf to get him a Civil list pension. This was not finally achieved until 1883 when he was granted £90 per year. With this,other charitable gifts, and continuing income from writing and readings,Waugh survived reasonably comfortably and,with the onset of his illness, was able to move from Manchester to the healthier New Brighton during his last years. In these later years, he wrote much less but some estimate of his popularity, and his need for ready cash, may be gauged by the publication of his Collected Works between 1881 and 1883 with a later volume in 1889. As the scenes at his funeral suggest, with the possible exception of Ben Brierley, Waugh had proved to be the preeminent local writer of his generation, and indeed a pioneer in dialect literature.

Looked at from the perspective of 1990 there are some features of Edwin Waugh's career and writing which raise interesting questions both about Waugh himself, and about his role as a nineteenth century dialect writer.

One obvious point of exploration is the apparent gap between his public and his private persona. The accepted public picture of Waugh is of a big bluff immensely cheerful personality, witty, an accomplished musician and the life and soul of any convivial

gathering. In his obituary tribute (East Lancashire Review Vol.1,1890), Ben Brierley commented:

> Waugh was a charming companion - could sing a song as sweetly as any man I ever listened to, because he put his soul into the work. He was " a fellow of infinite jest, of most excellent fancy," and for the way he revelled in a story we may never look upon his like again. (p.195).

George Milner, writing in the Manchester City News in January 1917, the centenary of Waugh's birth, describes Waugh in the 1850's as'large and healthy' with a ' slow firm step' and' large hands spread out'. He had an immense collection of 'huge sticks' and wore a shepherd's plaid on his shoulder along with 'huge broad-soled boots'.

One would not have expected this from a study of Waugh's confessional writing or the sad details of his private life. In his diary written during the time he was working for the Lancashire Public Schools Association between 1848 and 1850, he appears extremely inward looking, afflicted by a deep sense of failure and tending to hypochondria. He obviously has an image of himself as a writer, but this image is a romantic and Byronic one, suggesting alienation from the ugly city in which he was living,and misunderstanding of his talents.

There were no doubt particular reasons for his melancholy at this time. He was already 31, had made no mark on the world at all, and he was unhappily married to a woman whom he claimed to love passionately but who did not share his literary aspirations. Nevertheless there are signs,even after he gained local success , and had finally separated from his wife that there was a less extrovert side to his life. The first memorial to Gladstone for a Civil List pension in 1867, for instance, speaks for him in these terms:

> Mr.Waugh is in his fifty-first year. Under the pressure of overwork and mental anxiety,his constitution, originally strong, has given way; he is suffering from the effects of two attacks of congestion of the brain; he is apparently losing his eyesight; and he is incapable of prolonged labour and almost,indeed, of any mental effort whatever.
> (Original Unpublished Pieces: Rochdale Library)

This account may illustrate some special pleading, but it does fit in with the fact that he produced relatively little in his later years, and may also suggest that even local fame had not produced a sense of security or real confidence in his own abilities.

There is another obvious contrast to be noted - that between the subject matter of much of Waugh's best work and the details of his own private life. Waugh was preeminently the poet of the hearth and home. It was indeed the poem Come Whoam that made his reputation and gave him overnight success, and in prose and poetry over the following years, he extolled the virtues of marriage and family life. Yet his own life was very different. While working as journeyman printer in Durham, he fathered a child and his marriage to his 'Mary Ann', who came from Smallbridge near Rochdale,was disastrous. From his diary it is difficult to decide where the blame lay for the marriage difficulties. Waugh came to regard her as incorrigibly lazy and as no intellectual companion at all. On the other hand, she could justifiably have seen his literary aspirations as signs of 'unsteadiness'. Several times his job with the L.P.S.A. was in jeopardy. The diary provides a harrowing account of shouting matches in the streets of Smallbridge when she went back to

her parents and he tried to reclaim her, and gradually a complete breakdown in the marriage. For a time Mary Ann was in the Workhouse , which encouraged Samuel Bamford (no friend of Waugh's) to complain that Waugh had written Come Whoam 'whilst his wife and children were at the very time in the Marland Workhouse and he living with another woman in Strangeways.' (M.Vicinus: The Ambiguities of Self-Help 1984 p.14) From the early fifties onwards therefore Waugh had no settled home life. He lived for a long time with a landlady (the 'other woman')in Sagar Street, Strangeways, before moving to live in a hotel at Kersal. There is certainly an irony in this discrepancy between his life and the tenor of so much of his work.

Such contrasts do not necessarily suggest that Waugh was a hypocrite,though that is obviously the implication of Bamford's remark. It could be argued that the breakdown of Waugh's own marriage made him even more conscious of the value of home life since he was deprived of it. They do emphasise however how much the idealisation of hearth and home is a central feature of Victorian literature, particularly where the working class are concerned, and how far Waugh's reputation may have benefited by his commitment to it. The same sentimental attention to cosy firesides and Dutch interiors can be observed in the more famous work of Charles Dickens and George Eliot, whose private lives again singularly failed to match the advocacy of their writing.

In emphasising, as he so often does, married bliss in simple circumstances, Waugh was plainly striking a note which was of central significance to Victorian morality, distinguishing a mark by which respectability and conformity with social norms could be established. This fact may go some way to explain the remarkable impact which Waugh's simple six verse poem Come Whoam, published in

a relatively obscure regional paper, achieved. It is notable that its impact was not just upon working people, but upon the middle-classes and serious-minded aristocracy as well. Lady Burdett-Coutts, the reformer and friend of Dickens, actively promoted its sale, not only in England but abroad as well (Dictionary of National Biography 1899). According to an extract in unpublished pieces in the Manchester Central Library, the poem was also circulated privately in London by Lady Blessington, the society hostess, and printed by 'several private persons' to give away on tobacco papers. Remembering that the poem was published within six years of the People's charter of 1848, and at a time when novels such as North and South and Hard Times were openly seeking to heal the deep social divisions in English provincial society, it is evident that Waugh's poem was seized on as part of the remedy for dangerous class antagonisms , and his popularity partly relied upon the conventionality and the respectability of his message. In this respect Waugh's work in particular, and dialect writing in general, can be seen as part of the movement away from working-class radicalism and towards a wider social consensus which is such a feature of the second half of the century.

In something of the same way, Waugh's hearty persona is a reflection of the role that dialect writing was encouraged to assume during these years. Traditionally,in poems such as Jone o'Grinfilt or the Songs of the Wilson family, dialect writing had dealt, often scurrilously, with matters of the moment, with local fairs or the coming of the railways. Often there had been a hint of political and social comment.In the hands of Waugh and his contemporaries, dialect writing became,as it has often remained, distinctly nostalgic and socially neutral, looking back

to the good old days. Waugh writes best, as does Ben Brierley, about the pre-industrial era, about village life and simple people. He is least effective when writing about contemporary events, as in his poetry of the Cotton Famine.It is not surprising therefore that Waugh should play the countryman in his dress and demeanour, with his sticks and his boots. The plaid would help to establish his links with that greatest of dialect writers, Robbie Burns, to whom he was frequently compared.

Again one should not assume any hypocrisy or even deliberate play-acting in this. Waugh's love for the countryside and the traditional life of Lancashire was deep and genuine. Rather the stance which he adopted reflected the appeal of that dialect writing which he was doing so much to foster. For the newly emerging readership of the fifties and sixties, this was the appeal of the past, of a dying way of life reflected in a dying language.

Martha Vicinus in her essay on Edwin Waugh (op.cit.)has rightly said:

> Waugh's greatest accomplishment was widening the range of acceptable subject matter for dialect writing. (p.43).

She notes that whereas dialect writing had previously been only comic and frequently crude, with Waugh and Brierley it

> ...(showed) the pathos and feeling inherent in the lives of the less obviously articulate.

However, it can be argued that in the process dialect writing lost its cutting edge. It became a source of solace rather than a critique of industrial society. It came to fit very comfortably into middle class norms of morality and expectations concerning acceptable working class writing.

How far this was the case is even suggested

by the extent to which the less acceptable side of Waugh's life was hidden from his public so that the image of the man might fit the image of his work. Though obituary notices make some references to his final distressing illness,they virtually ignore his private life, and make no reference at all to his 'mental anxiety' of earlier years.

A further question, consequently, which might be asked about Waugh is how far he is actually a 'working class' writer. The answer is not as simple as it may seem. An image was created in the Victorian mind of an eight year old in the cellar dwelling whose mother sold shoes on Rochdale market to keep body and soul together, yet whose genius and sympathy for the lives of the ordinary working man and woman helped him to rise and become 'the Lancashire Burns'.

> Whatever rudimentary education he received it was imparted to him by his mother and Sunday School teachers

claims Robertson (op.cit p.169).Nevertheless there have always been critics to dispute the simplicities of the story. Swann in Lancashire Authors (1924 pp 229-30) points out that,despite the hard times which followed on his father's death, Waugh was well educated by the standards of his time.

> His earlier education was received from his mother; then he went at the age of seven years to Greenwood's school in Drake Street, from there to the National School in High Street, and finally to Mr.John Davenport's Commercial School in Entwistle Place.

Unlike Brierley or Laycock, Waugh never worked in the cotton trade. He didn't start regular employment till he was twelve, and from the beginning, working in Holden's shop, and as a printer, his jobs were bookish.

There is also evidence in his writing that

he did not entirely identify himself with the working man. As already suggested, his diary describes a man who regarded himself as somewhat apart and alienated from industrial life. More strikingly, in Sketches of Lancashire Life, as he travels to the Cottage of Tim Bobbin, or to Blackstone Edge, the persona he adopts is distinctly superior to the country people whom he meets on the way, who tend to show him considerable deference.

On the other hand, as Milner's description quoted earlier indicates, in other company he played the simple country fellow himself. He also seems to have been happy to accept, despite the fact that he was 'some years' older than Espinasse, the latter's rather demeaning nick-name for him of Sancho Panza (see a reference to this in Waugh's account of the visit to Blackpool below). Nor was he ever quite regarded as a gentleman. He was a founder member, and indeed vice-president of the Manchester Literary Club in 1862, and remained a regular attender during his many years in Manchester. Yet to some extent he remained the court jester, the entertainer while the real influence lay with worthies like John Harland and George Milner, the people who promoted Waugh through anthologies such as Ballads and Songs of Lancashire, where he was portrayed as the simple,good-hearted dialect poet. In 1881,for example, a dinner was given in honour of Harrison Ainsworth, the Manchester born author of such best-sellers as The Lancashire Witches and Old Saint Pauls. Characteristically Waugh was called upon to respond to the toast of 'The Literature of the County Palatine of Lancashire.'

> Here there had been an unusual list of authors, some of whom had pushed their way up through the hard soil like moorland flowers which grew without the aid of the cultivator, whilst many others were men of the greatest eminence, who had all the

advantages of school and college.
(S.M.Ellis: W.H.Ainsworth and his Friends Vol 2 p.333)

Implicit in Waugh's statement, quoting the title of one of his best known poems, is a claim for himself as the man of the people. Implicit in the occasion, where an author who was by this time very much a faded celebrity was honoured, rather than Waugh himself,are the social gradations of late Victorian society.

Once more in these intriguing ambiguities it is possible to detect a similarity between the perceived life of the writer and the dialect work which he was producing. In dialect writing of these years, and Waugh's work in particular there are the same complexities of locating its audience. Genuinely, as the funeral crowds testify, Waugh is the poet of the people. Genuinely also his work illustrates a new gentility in dialect writing which now conforms to middle class ideals and aspirations. Moreover the status of dialect writing itself echoes Waugh's social ambiguities. On the one hand,it is no longer regarded as rude unsophisticated and embarrassing to an educated audience. On the other it is never afforded equal status with literary work in standard English, even by the writers themselves.

No negative criticism of Waugh's work is intended by such observations. Certainly in Waugh's time, and under Waugh's influence, dialect writing lost its earthiness and something of its immediacy. But Waugh brought great gifts to dialect writing, and especially to dialect poetry, which more than compensate for such losses. Moreover in purely social terms Waugh's contribution was immense. In the second half of the 19th. century Lancashire gained greatly in social cohesion by the commitment of a wide spectrum of society to a proud enthusiasm for local language. This is

the heyday of a self-confident northern provincialism which had a vibrant intellectual and cultural life and produced many things of value in literature and the arts. Waugh's dialect work is one of the finest testimonies to this golden age, and the relative neglect of his work today suggests how far such triumphant regionalism has declined.

BRIAN HOLLINGWORTH

Note: the following piece by Edwin Waugh is an extract from his diary, which is self-contained, and describes a trip to Blackpool.

Brian Hollingworth, who has supplied it for the Journal, writes: 'It might be interestigng as a piece which has never to my knowledge been published before this centenary year.'

Edwin Waugh: A Trip to Blackpool

Wednesday 26th (September 1849) .... At the close of the meeting I went to the clerk at St. Jude's to get tickets for myself and my wife to go by the cheap trip to Blackpool in the morning at 6 o'clock.

Thursday 27th. Rose at 5 o'clock and washed myself all over in cold water. My wife not ready and not disposed to be. I determined that I would not this time (as I have done before so often) let her incurable tardiness keep me at home too, ill-tempered and disappointed. - She was saucy, and I was vexed at her unreasonableness and her shiftlessness. Off I went. the morning was beautifully clear and the air bracing. - There is something touching in the still appearance of a great city at such an hour. When I got into Medlock Street, a woman stood with one of the morning coffee stalls which are out at that time in different quarters of the city. - I took a cup with her, for which she charged me a half penny. - She had no bread and butter, which I much regretted.- But, on I went, and found a larger stall on Medlock Bridge, surrounded by a lot of hungry Mechanics regaling themselves with Coffee and Bread and Butter and Currant Cakes, of which there was no stint on the table. However, the woman had not been overpowered with business before I went, for she hadn't change for a shilling.

I got a satisfactory breakfast with her, and had some jocular conversation with the workmen about, and then went on my way towards the Salford Station. I went down Deansgate, and when I got into the neighbourhood of St. John's,(where I was struck by the spaciousness of the streets, and the number of fine old houses there, for the most part empty.- Cobden's house among the number) I saw large parties of people, seemingly of all conditions

of life,but chiefly working folk, and, for the most part women in their holiday dress, walking gleefully in the same direction and talking of the fineness of the morning, the provisions they had in their baskets, bottles etc., and the bachelors,with sweethearts. All this added to my delight, and I felt as if all the world was one house, and all the men and women in it near and dear relations - When I got to the (station) a few minutes before six, i found an astounding gathering of people. - The cackle of human voices was stunning, about their dresses, and their tickets, and their companions, and the train. - Upwards of 2000 persons there - all "fudgin fain" and very troublesome cattle to keep out of harm's way, so restlessly resolved were they to rush up and down, from one side of the station to the other, and explore every nook of the buildings, and get into everything in the shape of a railway carriage, in spite of the efforts of the guards and the porters to keep them in bounds till the train was ready. - After much impatient waiting, and speculation as to how soon the train would be ready to get into and start, a long line of carriages pushed slowly into view about 200 yards up the line, and stopt there, evidently with the intent of moderating the eager competition for seats which takes place among such crowds of pleasure-hunters as these.- No sooner were they seen, however, than nearly the whole of them set off at a devil-take-the-hindmost canter towards the carriages, screaming and laughing, and rivin' and tearin' to get into them, as if the whole of the round world was giving way elsewhere. - However, I felt more amused to see it, than to be in it, and knowing there would be room found for us all, I waited till the main rush was over, and then got quietly put by one of the guards into a carriage that wanted one of the due number of passengers. I had the fortune to light among

a pleasant company. All women, but an old tee-total reed-maker who sat opposite to me, and a modest looking young man, seemingly of the clerk species, altho' by the way modesty is anything but a characteristic of the Manchester Clerk. One of the women had a lively-looking little child, which was handed round to be noised and kist by everybody in the carriage....At last we began to cleave the bracing air of the morn, and every heart seemed to thrill with exhilaration. The country between Manchester and Preston was remarkably picturesque. We had a fine view of Rivington Pike and the hills in that neighbourhood. At "Proud Preston" we halted a quarter of an hour while the horse drank. Everyone that wished got out here, and walked about the line, within certain bounds, kept by policemen. Off we went gain, and the country became leveller, and exclusively agricultural, and - judging by mine own - very agreeably relieving to Manchester wearied eyes and spirits..... As we went on towards "the Fylde country" the substantial farmsteads were farther between - the farms evidently larger, and more grain grown upon them. The crops were nearly all in, and large numbers of fine young cattle and sheep roamed about the pastures, and large flocks of geese were in the stubble-fields, gleaning the scattered grain. At Poulton-le-Fylde we stopt till the regular morning train from Blackpool had come down thence, as there is only one pair of rails from Poulton down to Blackpool. - In a few minutes it came, and we went on to the finish of our pleasant journey.

The train was such an uncommon length that, when we stopt, we, who sat in the latter carriages, were some distance from the station. I got out, and seeing the weary delay and difficulty there would be in wriggling one's self through such a mass of people, and being eager, too, to get to the sea, I ran up

the slope from the Station Platform and climbed over the rails at the top. The pent-up dense crowd of stragglers below reminded me of the passage of the children of Israel through the Red Sea. Down towards the town I ran, where I immediately remarked the extremely neat, and clean look of the houses, and then I looked down the main street which ran straight down to the glorious green sea. which seemed to stand up at the end of it like a wall of foaming billows. - I went towards it delighted, and blind to everything else for the time. - Down the pebble-paved slope, on to the beautiful beach, which is remarkably expansive, and favorable (sic) to sea-bathing here. In a few minutes the whole of the immense crowd of human cattle which three hours before was in Manchester, was sporting about on Blackpool Sands, like midges in the sunbeam. Every-body seemed to understand that the time of stay in this novel and beautiful region was limited and, therefore went to work instantly to suck all the pleasure they could out of it,- after the Manchester fashion, - work while you work, play while you play. There was a great crowd (?) of rough, gaunt-looking ponies there, and of the stupidest, comicalest jack-asses that ever walked the earth since the days of Balaam. - Nevertheless, every four-footed creature on the sands, was, in a twinkling, bestridden by one of the children of Adam, and urged to its mettle, - where it happened to have any. And the fun that arose therefrom was infinite.- For some of the asses had an acquired trick of lying down with its rider upon the sand, when it had got a little distance from the starting place, and the rider, lord or lady, rolled over, to the great amusement of the crowd. Some wouldn't stir at all; some would do nothing but kick; but the best of them wouldn't stir an inch past a certain spot on the sands, where, to our eyes, there was no

visible boundary mark, but the donkies, one and all, turned round there of their own accord, and made the best of their way home again to the jack-ass stand. Some wags got up mimic tilting-matches, and, with abundance of difficulty and merriment, un-jackassed one another the best way they could. All was glee, wherever I lookt - Some looking about the beach for shells and stones, some sitting in merry groups upon the slope, regaling themselves with the contents of their baskets. Some lounging about with a quiet, contemplative joy beaming in their countenances. Some all boisterous hilarity and limb-frolic. Here they were rushing in and out of the bathing-vans and splashing about in the water like a congregation of mermen and mermaids. There they were hotly competing for admission into a boat which was carrying passengers to a small vessel with two masts, which stood further out in the water. - I bathed once before dinner, and had a ride upon Sancho's Dapple and went out in the sailing vessel on a trip which took more than an hour. - There were two glee singers on board, who sung "O'er the green sea" and other such songs. - I was listening with delight to the lashing of the water against the vessel's side. - On coming ashore again from the trip, I felt hungry, and walked up into the town to cast about for a feed. I looked at the hotels, but their appearance sorted ill with the state of my pocket, so I walked on to look for some accommodation of a genuine character, with humbler pretensions. Coming to a little grocer's shop, I went in to buy a few biscuits, and enquired where I should be able to get a comfortable dinner without going to hotel-expenses.- I could have dined heartily and satisfactoryily (sic) enough with a lump of cheese and some apples, in the open air, but mine was an extraordinary hunger that day, and my heart was bent on a cosy chat in a

chimney nook, and a hearty feed on " summat at deed by a knife." The flesh pots of Egypt were rolling up and down my thoughts, and I could not endure vegetarian diet on such a day as that was - The good mistress of the shop said they sometimes cookt meat for visitors, who went out and purchased according to their liking; and that she would be glad to do so for me, if I chose, and, as it was just their own dinner-time, she could accommodate me comfortably with all the vegetable trimmings to a good dinner. I was fain to hear it, and bolted off to the Shambles, which I found after many enquiries, and bought a pound of good mutton chops, which I wrapt up in a paper, and hurried back with to the good wife who had undertaken the cooking of them.- In a quarter of an hour all was ready for me,- I had been ready some time, and fell to with a good will.- Espinasse says to me sometimes that I am in many things the counterpart of Cervantes' Sancho.- If he had been behind me that day, upon the asses, and at meals, he would have sworn that I was the same man.- I finished my meal, and the good wife charged me fourpence for the trouble of cooking my chops, and for the trimmings to them, which I handed to her with "mony braw thanks", and took my way slowly to the seaside again. On my way thither, however, I stept into the Beach Hotel, to get a glass of porter. The lobby was adorned with marine plants, shells and other sea-treasures. I was shown into a well-furnished and ornamented room called "The Tap", where half-a-dozen men in the garb of gentlemen sat joking together, and regaling themselves with whiskey.... I went out and walked down to the beautiful frontier of the kingdom of Neptune. I walked along the surgy fringe of the green sea, with a delighted heart. Then went out in a van, and bathed in the sea again. After that I met with the old tee-totaler who sat opposite to me in the

carriage in the morning. We got into a rude kind of chariot, the body of which was not unlike a slice of a pew in a Methodist chapel, only the wood was of all sorts and thicknesses, and ill-joined, with great shifters between the joinings, and the material looked as if it had been partly orange-boxes, and partly an old pair of drawers. - This primitive vehicle was drawn by (by) a "tit" of rather better than the common sort about here, which are, for the most part, half-starved and ill-groomed, having chiefly, I believe to "fund fer thersels" as we say about Rochdale. In about an hour, we went up together into the town, and walked through the very pretty, and, for this place, large covered Market place, which we found crowded with fruit stalls, books, boots and shoes, baskets; and all kinds of trinketry, which latter are greatly bought up here by the visitors, as presents for those they've left behind 'em. It began to approach the time for the train to start back, and the folk beginning to slowly incline towards the Station, we, too, took the road thitherwards. We were at the spot in good time, and, again I had the fortune to light among an agreeable carriage full of folk. The bathing, the sea air, and the exercise of one sort and another made me feel very comfortable when seated, and rather inclined to fall asleep, but, what with the lively talk of my travelling companions, and the merriment that was going on outside the carriages, I was forced to give it up, and join in. And then, every two or three minutes, the carriage door was clunked open, and a red-faced man, with a piece of painted(?) blanket round his neck, looked in earnestly, and shouted out "Is thur any reawm." - "Eh,neaw," was the constant reply, and after a little wrangling, sometimes, down they poppt one after another - to look for rest elsewhere. Soon as the train was full - "Bubub! Bubbub!

Bubbubbub!" off we went homewards just as
"the rosy rays of evening fell"
and the dreamy robe of twilight began to float over the quiet "Fylde".- The women struck up the "Vesper Bell", and away we sped, the buz (sic) of voices in the train gradually sinking lower and lower till, except here and there, where some roystering bottle-sucker kept the carriage in a roar, the talk became mostly a gentle hum to which no inconsiderable number of snores contributed their somnolent share..... The train reach (sic) Salford at 20 minutes to 10 o'clock, and I was at home in Hulme at 10.

Thus ended this pleasant day.

OF GARDENS AND GERDINS:

MID-CENTRAL VOWELS BEFORE /r/ IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND

In an extended note, John Levitt recently wrote up the deliberations of the Society's Committee on the dialectal pronunciation of those words which are pronounced with /ɑ:/ before historical /r/ in Received Pronunciation (R.P.), but which are sometimes spelled with the letter e in dialect writing, e.g. merkit 'market'.[1] The examples cited were from Lostock and "near Bolton",[2] i.e. from the Greater Bolton Area, or thereabouts. James Taylor Staton (1817-1875), a well-known dialect author from Bolton, in fact generally used an er spelling in words which are spelled ar in written Standard English.[3] Exx.: cherge 'charge', gerdins 'gardens', merble 'marble', sherp 'sharp'. The spelling obviously suggests a mid vowel. John observed that such pronunciations had not been fully investigated, and invited submissions on the subject, particularly with a view to determining the distribution of this higher (closer) pronunciation.

In my investigation of the dialect of Farnworth and district,[4] which fall within the Greater Bolton Area, I encountered instances of mid-central vowels before /r/ in words such as garden. Exx.: ['gɛ̈ɹ̩:ɹdɪn] 'garden', [jɜ̩ˣ:ɹ:z] 'ears', [wɜ̩:ɹm] 'warm'. These vowels were analysed as higher, more centralised variants of /æ:/ which can occur before /r/. However, two points of major synchronic significance were the following: (a) Many words containing /æ:/ can alternatively be pronounced with /ɛ:/,[5] so that in some instances it is difficult to decide to which phoneme a (lower-) mid-central variant belongs; and (b) in words such as learn, sermon, serve, which are often spelled larn, sarmon, sarve in dialect literature,[6] the phonemes /æ:/ and /ɵ:/ may both occur.[7] Words such as garden, marble, sharp, which can

contain mid vowels in traditional vernacular, have low (open) vowels in speech modified towards R.P., and words such as learn, sermon, serve, which can contain /ɐ:/ in traditional vernacular, have a mid vowel /ɵ:/ in modified speech.

In the corpus of urban speech which underlay my Farnworth study, mid vowels were not particularly common in words spelled with ar in written Standard English, although I expressed the view at the time that higher and more centralised variants might be commoner on the outskirts of the urban area.[8] From a chronological point of view Staton's orthographical convention, er, seems to suggest that they were commoner in the nineteenth century; it is unlikely that Staton would have used a convention that was highly unrepresentative of the dialect of the time in this respect. Let us therefore turn our attention briefly to the Basic Material of the Survey of English Dialects (S.E.D.), which offers some evidence of their existence and distribution.[9]

It is difficult to evaluate the material in full, because (a) some responses contain the desired vowels, even though the Standard English keywords might not be suggestive of this fact; (b) conversely, some dialect responses will not involve the same lexical item or phoneme as the keyword; (c) not all items were known or elicited at all localities. These considerations affect the locating of the relevant material and also the ascertainment of the distribution of the feature in question, responses not always being comparable. Nevertheless, an impression can be formed from an inspection of a fair number of responses. Mid-central variants are most typical of locations La 11 and La 12, Eccleston and Harwood respectively. The latter is just on the outskirts of Bolton. Thus, in response to II.6.1

harvest and VII.6.3 stars, the [ɜ˞:] vowels at La 11-12 are quite the highest and most centralised vowels in the entire region of the Northern Counties. To a slightly lesser degree, La 8, Ribchester, has the same vowel before /r/. Thus, in response to V.10.1 darning La 8, 11-12 all have [ɜ˞:]; the same obtains in the responses to VI.11.3 warts, there having been no rounding of the vowel after /w/ in the traditional vernacular. La 8, 11-12 have the same vowel in VII.7.2 farthings, (Y31, Skelmanthorpe, having [ɛ·ə] without a following /r/), and also in VII.8.1 quart, (some Yorkshire localities again having [ɛ·ə]). La 5, Fleetwood, shows traces of [ɛ·ə˞] in the incidental material - cf. the responses to I.1.2 farmstead, where La 11-12 again have [ɜ˞:], and I.9.3 farmcart; and La 4, Dolphinholme, has a mid-central vowel in VIII.4.3 carpenter, along with La 8, 12, and in VIII.4.7 farmer, along with La. 8, 11-12.

Examples of the problems referred to earlier concerning full evaluation of the S.E.D. data are not hard to come by: thus, although the La 12 informant might well have pronounced I.9.3 farmcart with [ɜ˞:], as the La 11 informant actually did, the item in question was unfortunately "not known"; II.1.4 carting dung was pronounced with [ɜ˞:] at La 11, but was "not asked" at La 12; La 12 has [ɜ:] and La 4, 8 [ɜ˞:] in VIII.4.3 carpenter, but the word was not elicited at La 11. Also, we are dealing with tendencies rather than with allophones which invariably occur in a particular environment. Thus, although La 11-12 are the most obvious locations of mid-central vowels before /r/ in words which are pronounced with /ɑ:/ in R.P., they happen not to have such vowels in IV.3.6 bars, although La 8 has [ɜ˞:]. Similarly, quite a number of localities which do not usually have mid vowels before /r/ do happen to have them in VI.6.7 armpit and VI.6.8 arm! Such difficulties aside,

however, I believe that La 11-12 and to a lesser extent La 8 are the chief locations of mid-central vowels before /r/.

Finally, I should like to make one comment about the possible source of these mid-central vowels before /r/. John inclined to the view that they were "hyperurbanisms", i.e. instances of hypercorrection.[10] However, it is perhaps worth keeping in mind the phonetic fact that the preconsonantal and final /r/ used in the vernaculars under discussion here is a retroflex central approximant. As such it has a tendency to have a centralising effect on a preceding vowel. I sometimes notice in Newfoundland speech some mid-central variants of /ä/ before retroflex /r/. What we are dealing with here may therefore be a straightforward case of assimilation. It is, of course, even possible that both hypercorrection and assimilation have been at work in different instances.

FOOTNOTES

1. See John Levitt, "Mergret at the Merkit", Journal of the Lancashire Dialect Society, 38 (1989), 21-22.

2. Ibid., p. 21.

3. Cf. Graham Shorrocks, "A Phonemic and Phonetic Key to the Orthography of the Lancashire Dialect Author James Taylor Staton (1817-1875)", Lore and Language, 7/1 (1988), 91-108. See pp. 96, 103. Teddy Ashton (Charles Allen Clarke), who also came from Bolton, did not, however, use the er convention. Cf. Graham Shorrocks, "A Phonemic and Phonetic Key to the Orthography of the Lancashire Dialect Writer, Teddy Ashton", Journal of the Lancashire Dialect Society, 27 (1978), 45-59.

4. Graham Shorrocks, A Grammar of the Dialect of Farnworth and District (Greater Manchester County, Formerly Lancashire). Ph.D. thesis, University of Sheffield, 1980. Published in xerographic form and microform by University Microfilms International, ref. no. 81-70, 023.

5. See ibid., pp. 253f, 258f, 261f, 262.

6. Cf. my key to Staton's orthography, p. 96, and that to Ashton's orthography, p. 48.

7. See A Grammar of the Dialect of Farnworth and District, pp. 261, 264, 280.

8. Cf. ibid., p. 259, footnote 1.

9. See Harold Orton and Wilfrid J. Halliday (eds.), The Six Northern Counties and the Isle of Man (=Vol. I of Survey of English Dialects, (B). The Basic Material). Leeds: E. J. Arnold, 1962-63.

10. John Levitt, op.cit.

GRAHAM SHORROCKS

QUEEN STREET MILL LAMENT

Clickety clack, clickety clack,
Theear I goo a'looking back
There wor a time when England's bread
Depended on yor ceawnty's thread
To every problem we hed a solution
We were t'King ot th'Industrial Revolution
But it seems to be we've lost eawr way
For they're clooasin Queen Street Mill today.

Just thowt of if fair jowls mi yed
No clatter o clugs in t'weyvin shed
No "Mee mawin" neaw across the alley
Just Bailiff's knock and an empty bally
Aw t'coyle's bin brunt we're deawn tut cinders
Eawr pride alas flown eawt ut windows
Monny get deawn on their knees to pray
As they would'nd clooas Queen Street Mill today.

Kissin' shuttle's gone for ever
So is picking sticks and t'smell o leather
No rhythmic thump from th'engine "Peace"
Or t'smell we knew fra oil and grease
Mon thad engine run as smooth as silk
But it's no use skrikin oer spilt milk
We're towd we's hev to ged on us way
When we've wovven t'last cut at Mill today.

Nod only wor we weyvin cotton
We wove friendships neer to be forgotten
T'wer one for all and all for one
But we've coom tut th'end ut rooad by gum
It's no brass neaw lass in thi poss
No tekkin t'babby eawt to noss
But we's force a smile aye come what may
Though they're clooasin Queen Street Mill today.

continued ...

'Tis Aysther (Easter) time, hark tut joyful seawnd
Rising up from t'valleys aw areawnd
Childther's voices, men o brass
As yon Aysther bells play yor Requiem Mass
We watch um as they wheel eawt beeams
'Cos they're wheeling eawt, aye aw eawr dreeams
It's last act of a drama that they play
As final cortain faws on t'Mill today

It's part of eawr heritage so they say
Why did we let it slip away?
Future generations never will forgive
The penny pinching way we live
Millions made yet nooan to spare
To show the World the way we were
There's brass for th'Arts or so they say
But it's sorry, there's nowt for t'Mill today

T.V. crews coom and they filmed aw day
T'wer quiet when they went away
But yo con bet your Taiwan wovven socks
T'will be t'biggest tradgedy there's been on t'box
We's think as we hand up eawr clugs
Wod a shame to see t'Mill go tut dugs
For we're in t'breykers hands there's nowt mooar to say
Mon the Devil's in yon Mill today

Clickety clack, clickety clack
Were a musical seawnd
Whil'st playing it put in eawr pockets a peawnd
But Fate stopped eawr music, no mooar will it play
It's too late 'cos they clooased Queen Street Mill yesterday.

JIM ATHERTON

This poem won the Samuel Laycock Trophy, at the Society's annual Dialect Verse Writing Competition at the Fylde Folk Festival, 1989.

A BROODY BALLAD

It's 'appened ageean, ten times Ah've bin catched.
Mi mam's allus sed wi wor booath weel matched.
By gum when Ah met 'im Ah'd no idea then,
When 'e sed 'e liked kids as we'd end up wi' ten.

Ten. Ah ask ya! Ah feel jus' like a rabbit.
Some fooalks plan kids, wi' us it's an 'abit!
Mi sisther mooans cos oo carned 'ev ony,
An' 'ere's me frettin' becos Ah've ta mony.

Wi started wi't fost just afoor wi wor wed,
"It's a reyt fruitful start." Mi owd Grandma sed.
Ah little knew then jus' wot th'arvest ud be
Fost time Ah giv' in o' mi mam's best settee.

Eawr Edie as moans 'as bin thryin fer years
While Ah've thried ta get shut wi' jumpin' deawn stears.
Ah didn'd tell my Bert, 'e'd a thought Ah'd gone leet,
Cos Ah didn'd get shut, Ah just art booath feet!

Once somebody sed as 'ot baths 'ud do trick,
Then Ah thried castor oil, thad jus' med mi sick.
So neaw Ah've gi'n in an' Ah leave id ta fate,
It's neaw getten ta t'stage when wi dornd need ta mate!

Aw Ah need ta do neaw is jus' wesh 'is socks.
Aye, my chastity belt is needin' new locks.
Mi mam oo despairs, ses 'e's jus' like a bull.
'Is archer pal Fred ses 'is quiver's too full.

Bud mi owd Grandma ses as there's no disgrace
While 'e's tippin' is coil in 'is own coil place.
Aw t'same 'e carned blame mi fer 'evin a dream
As we'll stop afoor we've us own footba' team.

DORIS SNAPE

This poem won the Eric Topping Trophy, at the Society's annual Dialect Verse Writing Competition at the Fylde Folk Festival, 1989.

JOHNNY'S PLACE

Aw looked at 'im fost at th'Auction Mart,
Noddin' 'is yed -
A brooard breawn mon wi' a couple o' sons,
Dale-born an' bred;
An' Aw axed 'is name an' they towd id me
An' talked of 'is wife an' t'family,
An' iver afther Aw saw 'is face,
An' t'nice little body who wore 'is ring
At Johnny's Place.

Mi gron'mother wor a farmer's wife,
(A witch as well!)
Thad neet Aw looked i' yon owd Black Book
To find a Spell
For Lovin' - soa 'im an' me could lie
Together unther a dark Dale sky
I' a bracken-bed an' a fierce embrace
Till he'd gin ower thinkin' abeawt 'is days
At Johnny's Place.

But t'Winther's comin', an' t'neets grow cowd,
(An't "Ties" are strong!)
Neaw <u>he's</u> back whoam an' <u>Aw'm</u> movin' on,
Wod we did wor wrong!
(But unther Aunt Martha's Patchwork-'spread'
<u>A wife an' a ghost ull share 'is bed</u>
Till t'Judgement Day, an' thad outer space
When love's forgotten, an' t'grass grows over
Johnny's Place!)

JOAN POMFRET

When travelling from Lancaster to Dunsop Bridge via the Trough of Bowland, one hill differed from all the others, it only had one tree.

ONE TREE 'ILL

Nobdy's ploughed o' sowd this land, as faar as arr'm aweer,
An yet a 'idden dread strokes mi thowts, an fills mi yed wi fear.
Arr does tha captivate t'essence o' a landscape?
This nowt t'sae tha's t'measure sum time o' life,
Or a meeanst' sum escape.
Frae ees fosst footsteps in ee's child'ood
Wi climbed t' 'ill, me son an I
T' a place wi both desired - a place o' serenity
A place s' near t' sky.

Then strangers come on t' 'ill
An palnted trees an amde a promise,
Tha' th' trees wud grow and pass us by
An we wer saddened bi th' thowt;
Tha' arr view wud 'asten t' a close.
Burr wi grew along wi leaf an growth,
An fra time t' time wi luked areawnd an paused:
T' wi in t' 'ill an not jus' bijon, an s' a joy wer born.

Frae wind an rain, sun an snow, theer emerged a song,
S' if fer reasons, sum unknown, an w'en sadness o'er tuk -
Wi'd climb tha' 'ill mongst trees;
Wi wild o' wind o' gentle breeze
An frae t' 'eights, ut life we'd luk,
An thru seasons yon 'eld it's chaarm
A winter cowd - a summer waarm.

Then one dawn abaht dayleet time,
A gang o' fellers wi saws an' chains commenced t' climb.
Arr raced wi bated breath an' felt th' chill tha' cooarts a death,
Each tractor track each foot t'tread;

Arr chased alone mongst th' dead,
Timbers cracked lahk dragons roar, as t'treen wer fawin bi
scoore,
"Stop - stop" arr skriked, an' skriked till mi thuat wer soon,
"Thi'er waanted fer t' waar" thi anneawnces thumteen times
o' moorer.

Yon trees, tha' 'ill, lahk ivy -
Weawnd it's life areawnd mi thowts - mi very ways,
Past years, months, aw them 'appy days.
An' moods an' carin' birds an' song,
An' t'melody o' watters as it seeps, then flows along.
"Please" arr begged, "Not aw, please leave burr one, fer mi
son,
Tha sees arr eeard this morn, tha' ee waant bi comin' 'oam".

ERIC KITCHEN

WHEN AH WERE A LASS

Ah laiked eawt in't back yard when ah were a lass.
Wi' two o' thri childer frae eawt o' t'same class.
There were 'op-scotch, an' skippin' an' marbles an' all,
An laikin' abeawt wi' a bat an' a ball.

Wi'd donkey stooaned steps, a dooar wi' a sneck,
An monny an eawr wi spent laikin' in t'beck.
T'coyl chap 'ad coom reawnd wi' 'is 'oss an' 'is cart,
Wi'd eyt tatie pie an' 'ooam med traycle tart.

Wi'd gas leet, a slop stooan, an' nobbut one tap,
Wi'd a quilt 'at were patchwaark, a shawl fer a wrap.
Wi'd antimacassars an' two rockin' cheears,
An' a granfeyther clock i' them owd bygone years.

Wi'd a mangle, a maiden, an' black iron pans.
T'milk chap did 'is reawnds wi' 'is churns an' 'is cans.
Wi'd a lumpy flock mattress, eawr bedsteads were brass,
Mi thowts allus turn back t' when ah were a lass.

RENEE P BLACKBURN

REVIEW NOTES

Linguistic Geography and Dialect Syntax: J M Kirk, S Sanderson and J D A Widdowson (eds), Studies in Linguistic Geography, Croom Helm: London, Sydney, Dover New Hampshire, 1985. Hard covers, xix + 186pp, £35.00.

"The ultimate origin of this volume of papers lies in the continuing debate between so-called 'traditional' dialectologists and those sociolinguists who have developed new approaches to dialect study in recent years" (p.1). The editors are particularly concerned with the reception accorded to the SED (Survey of English Dialects) and LAE (Linguistic Atlas of England), and with the attacks made by sociolinguists and others on the "supposedly outmoded approach" (p.1) of the SED. The SED is placed in its historical context, and its importance, both in its own terms and for later surveys, is stressed. The editors also feel "that there is a need for a volume which focusses on the drafting, coding and general production of linguistic atlases and on their analysis, decoding and general reception" (p.2). They present a new base map for the SED, which takes account of the redrawing of the county boundaries in 1974 in accordance with the recommendations of the Maud Commission and the Local Government Act of 1972, and which incorporates a strict North-to-South ordering of the localities. The opening chapter on principles and practice in linguistic geography contains a detailed discussion of the principles of mapping. One dimension which is wholly absent from this discussion is that of colour, which I should have thought had very considerable potential. The editors also review the contributions to the volume in their opening chapter.

Chapter 2, by Sanderson and Widdowson, is entitled "Linguistic Geography in England: Progress and Prospects", and contains a review of the history of dialectology, with particular reference to the SED. There is "... a fuller account of the operational strategies of the SED than has been given hitherto" (p.19). The potential of the SED data-base and the importance of the SED as a base-line for further studies are both emphasized. The SED Incidental Material and the tape-

recordings remain virtually unexploited. Criticisms of the SED, and particularly of the LAE, are discussed and a number of them are dismissed as unrealistic. The SED was conceived circa 40 years ago, and must be viewed in its historical context. It is also pointed out that critics have been notoriously slow to undertake better surveys themselves, or to present superior maps.

When the SED responses are compared to those of the more recent ALE (Atlas Linguarum Europae), "what little preliminary work has been done suggests ... that there has been a dramatic erosion of regional lexis during the intervening 30 years or so ..." (p.43). Certainly there has been some erosion, but I wonder whether our impressions might not be distorted by the fact that the ALE used a whole plethora of fieldworkers without any kind of uniform training - it is difficult to imagine that they were all as skilled at eliciting traditional vernacular as the SED fieldworkers; or that the informants were always selected with the same care.

Chapter three, by Parry, deals with the Survey of Anglo-Welsh Dialects, and chapter four, by Adams, Barry and Tilling, with the Tape-recorded Survey of Hiberno-English Speech, both of which might be described as daughter surveys of the SED. The former "completes the dialect record for the South of mainland Britain and shows for the first time how patterns of variation revealed by the SED fieldwork sweep through Wales to the coast in the West" (p.19). Parry's article contains an interesting discussion of the problems associated with a linguistic atlas in a bilingual country, particularly the status of Welsh lexical items. The Tape-recorded Survey of Hiberno-English Speech has tried to take account of some of the criticisms of the SED: for instance, all responses are recorded on tape together with a specimen of free conversation, there is a systematic network of localities, three types of informant are sampled (i.e., three different age groups) and mapping procedures will vary to suit the data. A tentative initial analysis of some of the data is presented. Both of these surveys show how the SED can be extended and improved.

The editors attach considerable importance to Johnston's paper, "Linguistic Atlases and Sociolinguistics", which they describe as "seminal" (p.22). Johnston shows how sociolinguistic variation can be studied in existing linguistic atlases. The editors feel that "this paper fully answers recent criticisms of traditional dialectology by sociolinguists and suggests that such criticism in some recent sociolinguistic textbooks on dialectology may require qualification" (p.23). Sociolinguists might not be convinced.

In the sixth chapter, Viereck shows how the principles of dialectometry can be applied to the mapping of the SED data. He demonstrates how dialectometry can show "fluid boundaries" rather than the "abrupt boundaries suggested by the term isogloss" (p.96), and suggests, quite rightly, that fluid boundaries are closer to linguistic reality than abrupt ones.

Glauser looks at the contribution which generative phonology can make to linguistic atlases. He feels that a theory which explains current dialectical variation in terms of phonological rules enables us to present more meaningful, or interpretative maps. (Some readers might feel that hypothesis would be a more accurate term than theory.)

Kirk looks at the neglected field of dialect syntax, and at some of the problems associated with questions designed to elicit syntactic features. A major difficulty is that of the comparability of responses: the same features can have different syntactic functions, and the same syntactic function can be carried out by different features. He reviews more recent individual studies of dialect grammar, which are corpus-based and, up to a point, comparable, and maps them by region and type (map 8.5). I would question, however, his use of such categories as "traditional" and "fully descriptive of syntactic variation" - for instance, Shorrocks (1980) does not readily fall into a category labelled "... 'traditional', principally concerned with morphology, and usually derivative in their overall scope from SED" (p.143). Kirk also uses aspects of dialect grammar to argue against the notion of polylectal grammars (cf. pp.153f).

When discussing the modal auxiliaries, Kirk writes:

> Traditional dialect studies continue to report that, for instance, in the dialect of Bolton, Greater Manchester, mun has the meaning of 'must' (Shorrocks 1980: 599), as map 8.4 also suggests. The only qualification of this statement refers to the replacement of mun by must in what the author calls 'modified speech' (Shorrocks 1980: 600). The range of meanings of must is not, however, revealed. Despite copious fieldwork, we are not told whether mun and must are referentially equivalent. That they are stylistic variants is supported by comments made by informants, recorded by SED in its Incidental Material, and excerpted by Melchers. (p.141). (cf. SED, IX, 4, 11).

Kirk's reporting here is a little too selective. It was made perfectly clear in Shorrocks (1980: 492f) that it was impossible to give a linguistically full account of morphology and syntax, and that a comparative approach would be used. "Features which are clearly distinctive vis-a-vis SE are described" (p.492). Thus, if it is said that mun has the meaning of 'must', one may assume that mun and must are referentially equivalent: had the "copious fieldwork" suggested that there were any clear differences between the two, then I should certainly have reported that fact. I was, indeed, aware at the time that dialectologists elsewhere had on occasion detected a difference between mun and must. Cowling (1915: §481) wrote: "Corresponding to literary English 'must', the dialect has two verbs - must which implies outward necessity, not depending on the will of a person; and mun which implies compulsion depending on personal will." Thus:

a) they must come this way (they cannot come by any other)
b) they mun come this way (they are under personal restraint to take this road).

Similarly, Hedevind (1967: §9:78) reported: "Must is not used in the traditional dialect, where mun is used instead, except to express logical necessity". However, no such distinction is made in the dialect of the Greater Bolton area:

mun would be used in both instances. On a number of occasions I questioned informants about modal verbs, and the opinion that must "is posh" proved unanimous - i.e. it is a stylistic variant, to be used in what I, amongst others, term "modified speech". It is perhaps worth adding that, when emphasis is required, have (for) to is often used rather than mun/must.

I should also like to take this opportunity of commenting on Kirk's remarks about the second singular personal pronoun. In respect of SED question IX.8.2, which elicits give it to me/give it me/give me it, Kirk states that "the range of options could be further extended by local forms of the second person pronoun, such as thou in many parts of England:

4(a) give thou me it
4(b) give me it thou" (p.133)

In dialects such as the Farnworth dialect, the pronoun would come at the beginning, i.e before the verb, or be tagged on at the end; furthermore it could only ever appear in the oblique or objective case:

a) Thee give it me!
b) Give it me, thee!

Cf. Shorrocks (1980: 622). The inclusion of the pronoun is optional, and would appear to be emphatic in function. In the English Dialect Grammar, Wright (1905: 272, § 404) says of the second singular pronoun in the objective case: "In the dialects of the northern counties, Lan. Chs. and Wil., it is frequently added to an imperative when special emphasis is required, as thee mind thy own business." The work contains no constructions of the type suggested by Kirk.

Finally, Henry looks at "Linguistic Atlases and Vocabulary: The Linguistic Survey of Anglo-Irish", and Macaulay concludes with a chapter on "Linguistic Maps: Visual Aid or Abstract Art?" Macaulay examines the different kinds of map used in the various linguistic surveys, and considers their merits and demerits. He asks such fundamental questions as: "Who are the maps aimed at?", "What is their purpose?" and points out that they often seem to obscure information rather than

make it clearly accessible. He argues that computers can help with mapping, and that genuinely interpretive maps are required. Of efforts to date, he remarks: "The most obvious weakness lies in the almost total lack of analysis" (p.180). He feels that lists such as those in the SED Basic Material are more useful than most current maps when it comes to presenting and utilising the raw data, and that maps are redundant unless they go significantly beyond what can be gleaned from the lists, i.e. unless they explain and interpret. Also, different mapping techniques might profitably be used within the same atlas, depending on the data to be mapped.

Despite much recent criticism of the linguistic atlases associated with the SED, the editors of this volume believe that "linguistic geography as it has been traditionally practised has never been in a healthier and more buoyant state, and has many fresh insights to contribute to the study of language, both now and in the future". (p.32)

Finally, it might be noted that the paper, binding and printing are all of high quality, and the format quite pleasing. It is, however, a pity that so well-produced a volume should lack indices, and that parts of the first chapter should smack of immodesty.

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LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF SCOTLAND

J Y Mather and H H Speitel (eds), The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland, Scots Section, Volume III, Phonology. Cartography by G W Leslie, Foreword by D Abercrombie. London, Sydney and Dover: Croom Helm, 1986. xviii + 398 pp, £135.00

When a linguistic atlas of the British Isles was first discussed in 1935, it was assumed that it would cover the dialects of the British Isles as a whole. Later, when the Survey of English Dialects (SED) was founded in 1946, it was intended to survey the dialects of Great Britain, and not just those of England. However, the Linguistic Survey of Scotland (LSS) was set up in 1948 by Professor Angus McIntosh and instituted in 1949 at Edinburgh University, and the SED restricted itself to England. Significant linguists and phoneticians have been associated with the LSS - McIntosh, Abercrombie, Catford and Uldall - and, after discussing in seminars the methods of French dialectology, they experimented with questionnaires and field techniques.[1]

The LSS has two main sections: one deals with Gaelic and the other with Scots (English). The area covered is Scotland (including the Orkneys and Shetlands), Northern Ireland, Northumberland and Cumberland (i.e the two northernmost counties of England, using the pre-1974 county divisions), and the Isle of Man. The northern counties of England are included so that one may ascertain the extent to which linguistic boundaries coincide with political ones. Northern Ireland is included, because some dialects there are of a decidedly Scottish character due to the immigration of Scottish settlers in C17 and C18 (Ulster Scots). The Gaelic formerly spoken in the Isle of Man belonged to the same branch of Celtic as Scottish and Irish Gaelic.

The linguistic situation in Scotland is by common consent complicated.[2] Of over 5 million people, only 75,508 speak Gaelic (1.46%). and only 1079 speak Gaelic to the total exclusion of English (0.2%). The varieties of English spoken are : Standard English, Scots, Highland English and Island English. Highland English is spoken in Highland areas, where Gaelic was spoken until fairly recently, i.e it is English on a

Gaelic substratum. Island English refers to the English spoken on the islands off the western coast of Scotland, where Gaelic still survives. Standard English is grammatically the same for all of Great Britain, but is spoken with local accents. Scots English is a form of English which varies from Standard English at all the linguistic levels.[4] It is spoken in the South and East of Scotland. Scots was no longer an official language in Scotland at the time when Gaelic died out in the Highlands, so Highland English shows the influence of Standard English rather than of Scots. Scots itself goes back to the Old English period. Anglian dialects spoken in the Lowland part of Scotland and the northern part of England were linguistically very similar until C14. Scots developed its own particular character in the Lowlands in C15 and C16, when educated people in the North of England came increasingly under the influence of Standard English.[5] Scots spread northwards. It is different from Standard English at all linguistic levels, and shows considerable differences in lexis, because of its political independence of England in C15 and C16. It has its own literature, the golden age being 1450-1550. Scotland and England came under the same monarch in 1603, and Scots began to fade in importance. The English and Scottish parliaments were unified in 1707. The world-wide prestige of London was influential in Scotland, and substantial parts of the Scots lexicon were relinquished.

The Scots Section of the LSS deals with all the varieties of English, as opposed to Gaelic. It is with the Scots Section that we are concerned here. The LSS is of particular interest because its methods differ sharply from those of the SED and the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada (LAUSAC). The Scots viewed a linguistic survey as a long-term venture which should proceed in stages - one cannot realistically hope to prepare a single questionnaire that does everything.[6] They therefore prepared two lexical questionnaires, which they sent out by post - i.e, using the indirect method - and then a phonological questionnaire, which was administered by trained phoneticians. The basic idea was that the methodology should be suited to the material. The LSS has laid emphasis on the clear delineation of tasks and methodology from the outset. By limiting the survey, at least in the first instance, to certain aspects of lexis, phonology

and morphology, it was hoped that they would be able to proceed in a more precise and systematic manner than would be the case if one tried to do everything at once.

McIntosh's Introduction to a Survey of Scottish Dialects is a very readable little handbook which any student of dialectology should study. In it, he expresses the view that people born before 1914 are in a sense "more resistant types" - more resistant, that is, to linguistic change or to the many pressures on the regional dialects than younger people.[8] They learned how to speak at a time when society was more static, and when regional variation was therefore very marked. McIntosh recommended that these speakers should receive priority in the first instance, whilst their speech is still available to us for investigation. Note that he is not saying that other kinds of linguistic variation should be ignored - merely that there are priorities, as this type of speaker will soon no longer be available. In accordance with this principles, the LSS selected older locals as informants: "The person chosen should, if possible, be middle-aged or older and a life-long inhabitant of the district."[9] These requirements are less stringent than those for the SED, and in exceptional cases teachers filled out the lexical questionnaires themselves instead of functioning as intermediaries.

The first lexical questionnaire was sent out by post in 1951, and contained 211 questions;[10] the second postal questionnaire was sent out in 1953 and contained 207 questions.[11] Some phonological and grammatical matters were included, but these questionnaires were primarily lexical. The informant was encouraged in the case of phonological questions to indicate his pronunciation from amongst the possibilities suggested by different spellings of a word, and by rhymes. The questionnaires were sent to schools, and the teachers passed them on to suitable locals. Occasionally - as remarked above - they were filled out by the teacher.

Speitel and Mather, in their article about Scottish dialectology and the LSS, do not take up the question of the validity of the indirect method.[12] They simply refer the reader to an article by Viereck for a summary of the debate[13] and observe that the results may speak for themselves. The use of a postal questionnaire has one major advantage: density

of coverage. It is arguable that vocabulary can be collected in this way, even if phonetic features cannot. The postal questionnaire is relatively inexpensive too, and quite quick. However, some would see the LSS's reversion to the indirect method as a retrograde step. Dieth, for instance, commented in a review of McIntosh's Introduction:

> McIntosh does not tire of describing the advantages of the postal questionnaire, at least for the lexical and morphological items (ignoring at the same time its drawbacks), and of criticising in a one-sided way the direct method which he thinks is used "in a situation unnatural to the informant" and by a field worker too much cramped by rules of procedure. We may leave it to experience to tell which is the better way. Some of us here and in England think that his fears on this latter score are wholly unfounded.[14]

There are, of course, as Dieth is implying, marked disadvantages in using postal questionnaires: one usually has to work through intermediaries - not always well qualified for the task - and has little control over the choice of informants; one has no immediate way of dealing with misunderstandings or confusion arising from unclear questions;[15] and the informants are not qualified to suggest the pronunciation of a word, even if one does offer them choices in normal spelling or rhymes.

For the direct investigation there were 250 localities - cf. circa 2700 responses in total to the two postal questionnaires. The phonological questionnaire contained 907 phonological questions and 75 morphological ones. Fieldworkers spent up to a week in each locality - this gave them time to talk informally with informants and other locals. After the questionnaire had been completed in a locality, two sections of it and 10-15 minutes of continuous speech were recorded on tape. Responses to the phonological questionnaire were transcribed on the spot, although, as we have just noted, some recordings were made too. The two records were compared before any forms were mapped. There was generally one informant per locality - but not usually the same informant as had been used for the lexical questionaires, as the indirect and direct surveys were separate undertakings. Much of the fieldwork was done by T Hill and J Y Mather, particularly

the latter. Both have reputations as excellent phoneticians and phonemicists[16] and, indeed, the fieldworkers worked out phonemic systems whilst visiting the various localities, i.e. whilst the informants were still available to them to answer questions. Thus, fieldworkers for the LSS needed not only to be good fieldworkers and phoneticians, but also good structural linguists.

The phonological questionnaire is directed towards working out synchronic (functional) systems. (Obviously, the material can be used to diachronic ends as well, but it is not primarily so directed; thus, the development of the Middle Scots vowels can be discerned, but not in all environments.[17]) The questionnaire contains 15 sections: 11 on stressed vowel systems (sections 0-10), one on vowel harmony (section 11), one on unstressed vowels (section 12), and two on grammatical systems (i.e personal pronouns in section 13 and deictics in section 14). To establish the stressed vowel systems, monosyllablic words common to all Scots dialects (and most of them occurring in Standard English too) were elicited. Thus problems of syllable boundaries were avoided. Vowels were elicited in different consonantal environments: before /t/, before /d/, in open syllables, before bilabials, before voiceless fricatives, etc., In this way one can work out contrasts in strictly defined environments.[18] Catford in particular was responsible for this procedure of working out a system for each phonological environment. The procedure is based on Firth's notion of polysystemicity.[19] Because informants were asked to translate single words, what was actually being investigated in a strict sense were one-word sentences with a falling intonational contour. The forms of the particular words are citation forms.

Words were elicited by asking informants to translate a word pronounced by the investigator into the dialect. Speitel and Mather argue that any form of elicitation is artificial.[20] They seem to try to make a virtue of the translation technique by asserting that it requires of the informant a measure of intellectual collaboration, in that it harnesses his bilingualism or bidialectalism. They also try to justify the procedure by saying that Scots have usually thought carefully about their dialect (cf. the political status of Scotland), and tend to be consciously aware of the differences between their speech and the standard.[21]

The use of a translation technique is certainly questionable. By asking the informant to repeat a particular word using his own pronunciation, one does, it is true, at least get comparable material from all locations: one elicits the same lexical item (i.e it is not a case of one informant producing pit and the next one mine); and it is pronounced in isolation, i.e as a citation form, or, if the informant needs a sentence to make clear which word is wanted, the fieldworker arranges things so that the word appears in stressed final position, e.g It is there where you sat as opposed to He sat on a chair.[22] Thus, stress and intonation are always controlled. There is then a certain methodological stringency here. However, the risk of influencing the informant's pronunciation is considerable. I do not find Speitel and Mather's argument that Scots have generally thought long and hard about their dialects and that they are especially conscious of their bilingualism or bidialectalism particularly convincing. I do not think that the Scots are so very much different from anyone else in this respect.

The LSS treats responses in Scots as either Scottish Dialect or Scottish English (= in this narrower sense Standard English with a local pronunciation). It does not allow of any intermediate levels, i.e it does not recognise any Umgangssprache or regional standard. Speitel and Mather feel that there are no regional standards, with their own stable phonological and grammatical systems, intermediate between local dialects and Standard English. Mixed forms are treated as fluctuating use of the dialect or fluctuating use of the standard.[23]

The phonological questionnaire of the LSS represents a major advance in one important respect: its strict adherence to structuralist principles. Catford wrote: "So far as we know, this is the first time a structural questionnaire has been used in a large-scale dialect survey such as might lead to the production of a linguistic atlas."[24] In traditional questionnaires, the questions are directed towards discovering the development of earlier sounds in the modern dialects, not towards working out the system of each present-day dialect.[25] Traditional atlases therefore enable us to compare dialects at the phonetic level, but hardly at the systematic or phonemic level. Clearly, a questionnaire which aims to elicit complete linguistic systems must be constructed in

such a way as to allow for the total likely range of variation which will be encountered. The questionnaire for the LSS has generally proved adequate in this respect.

Mather and Speitel(1986) re-emphasise the separate character of the phonological enterprise. They stress the functional nature of the approach (c.f the Prague School) and the fact that it is polysystemic (c.f Firth and, in particular, Catford). They observe: "We have urged that comparison is the whole phonological purpose of our Atlas. The problem of maintaining consistent comparison is the problem of applying the polysystems. To resolve this we offer a new concept - the polyphoneme." 26 It is argued that conventional synchronic phonology has not been in the habit of making comparisons, although the concept of the diasystem was a step in this direction. The editors have therefore "set up a system of maximally ten polyphonemes." A polyphoneme is defined as follows: It consists of "one or more phonemes that share certain phonetic features, show similar distribution from place to place and/or are historically related (derive from specific historical sources)." 27 The data are presented in both list and map form, and the lists present the responses phonemically, with polyphonemic summaries of each set of data. the maps, however, are essentially systemic in character, and based very much upon the concept of the polyphoneme. They are therefore much more interpretive than many of the maps associated with other surveys, and should go a long way towards meeting the criticisms which many linguists have made of traditional linguistic geography. The responses mapped in this volume cover sections 0-10 of the questionnaire, i.e those dealing with the stressed vowel systems.

It is admitted by those associated with the LSS that further work is required - for instance, on fishing terminology, urban speech, intonation and grammar.[28] The lack of good, relatively comprehensive monographs has made itself felt, above all for the industrial areas and remote regions, when scholars have considered what further LSS projects needed to be undertaken.[29] After all, one cannot know which factors might vary, or what the likely range of variation is, unless one has good synchronic monographs for a number of localities in an area. This point does not just apply to Scotland, of course. It is unfortunate that the detailed, descriptive linguistic monograph is currently somewhat unfashionable.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. Speitel and Mather (1968: 529), Mather and Speitel (1975: 6-7).
2. Cf. Viereck (1964: 349).
3. Figures after Viereck (1964: 349).
4. There is a useful short introduction to the history of Scots prefaced to Robinson (1985: ix-xxvi).
5. Cf. Speitel and Mather (1968: 521).
6. Cf. McIntosh (1961: 93), Mather and Speitel (1975: 1,2) Mather and Speitel (1968: xif).
7. Cf. Speitel and Mather (1968: 529).
8. McIntosh (1961: 85f).
9. Cited after Viereck (1971: 182).
10. Cf. McIntosh, Uldall and Jackson (1951). See also Mather and Speitel (1975: 10-15).
11. Cf. McIntosh and Woolley (1953). See also Mather and Speitel (1975: 10-15).
12. Speitel and Mather (1968: 530). There is a very brief justification of the indirect method in Mather and Speitel (1975: 10).
13. See Viereck (1964: 350-2).
14. Dieth (1953: 126).
15. Cf. Viereck (1964: 352). The Foreword and Introduction to Mather and Speitel (1986) contain some brief comments on the fieldwork and fieldworkers.
16. Viereck (1971: 182).
17. Cf. Speitel and Mather (1968: 530).
18. Cf. Speitel and Mather (1968: 531), Mather and Speitel (1968: xiff).
19. Speitel and Mather (1968: 531), Mather and Speitel (1986: xi).
20. Cf. Speitel and Mather (1968: 531).

21. See Speitel and Mather (1968: 532).

22. Cf. Viereck (1964: 354; 1971: 185).

23. Cf. Speitel and Mather (1968: 532).

24. Catford (1957a: 118 note 2).

25. Cf. Viereck (1964: 353).

26. Mather and Speitel (1986: xiii).

27. Mather and Speitel (1986: xiii). For further details of the polyphonemic proposal see pp. xiii-xvi.

28. Cf. Speitel and Mather (1968: 534); Mather and Speitel (1975: 2).

29. See Speitel and Mather (1968: 534, note 77).

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The subscription to the society is £3 per annum, or £7.50 for three years' membership, payable to the Treasurer.
Members are asked to accept this as their subscription reminder.

SECRETARY'S REPORT

The Society has had quite a busy and varied year. On 18 May 1989 we had a joint "poems and pints" get-together with the South Lancashire Dialect Society at Howe Bridge Village Club, where we had the privilege of hearing some very original items. Then came on 20th August our dialect service at Waterhead under the able guidance of Rev. Shaw, followed 2nd September by the anual dialect poetry-writing competition as part of the Fylde Folk Festival at Fleetwood. 23rd September 1989 saw a joint meeting with our friendly rivals of the Yorkshire and Lakeland Dialect Societies at Kirkby Lonsdale. Unfortunately, in contrast to great turn-outs by the other two societies, very few of our members attended, but each who did had a good chance to take the spotlight and they gave very good account of themselves. The meeting with Manchester Literary Club took place not as arranged but on 16th October at extremely short notice before most members could be informed. This was through confusion - not, I hasten to add, on our part - but the meeting was a good one, with a chance for all to expound. Perhaps we should have more of these.

It is sad to record the death (12 December 1989) of Miss Langford-Jones, a very kind ex-committee member. Death has made one or two other inroads into the membership, but these have been compensated at least in one sense by the arrival of new members. Feelers have been put out about the vacant presidency but no-one has yet accepted.

During the Society's year officials attended two Manchester Town Hall meetings about the North-West Sound Archive, whose future presently looks rather bleak but we hope their fortunes improve. Our meetings for the next 12 months are in the summer news bulletin but already in response to it our member Rev. Roberts has kindly offered at minimal cost the use of his Unitarian church hall in central Southport, seating 60.

Secretary's Report, continued

George White, Bob Dobson and I worked hard postally 11th June to radiate summer news bulletins from Radcliffe British Legion clubhouse. Your secretary will soon be spreading Lancashire dialect in two unusual ways, by lecturing on dialect in law courts to an international dialectology conference in Bamberg and later at the University of Dortmund on coal-mining language. Bits of knowledge on either, especially coal-mining, would be very welcome.

Finally for our Society's ruby anniversary celebrations in 1991 the other societies say it is our turn to host the meeting. Carnforth in September has been suggested.

PETER WRIGHT
21/6/90

Regional Language Studies, Reprint Edition

Dr Graham Shorrocks, our regular contributor who is on the staff of the Memorial University of Newfoundland, writes:

The Department of English Language and Literature at Memorial University of Newfoundland has published a reprint edition of *Regional Language Studies*, Nos. 1 - 10 (1968-82), 268 pp., with corrections, in one volume. This enables subscribers to obtain earlier numbers which are now out of print, or to purchase a complete run of the journal.

The price is C$12.50, plus postage ($1.87 Canada, $2.60 USA, and $3.07 elsewhere.

Cheques should be made payable to the English Department, M.U.N.; and orders should be addressed to

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FYLDE FOLK FESTIVAL 1989
Lancashire Dialect Verse Writing Competition

The Society's annual Dialect Verse Writing Competition was held during the 1989 Fylde Folk Festival, at Fleetwood on 3rd September 1989.

The Samuel Laycock Trophy, for serious verse, was won by Jim Atherton, with his poem about the closure of the Queen Street Mill, Burnley, earlier in 1989. It was Europe's last steam-powered mill. The closure moved Jim, a weaver, greatly.

(Samuel Laycock was a well-known dialect writer who achieved fame in the Cotton Famine of the 1860s).

The Eric Topping Trophy for humorous verse was won by Doris Snape of Great Harwood, with her poem about a young woman pregnant for the tenth time. The poem was recited for her by her daughter, Wendy Duggan.

(Eric Topping was the Treasurer of the Society until his death three years ago).

Certificates of Merit went to Maureen Leech of Leigh: Michael May of Bamber Bridge: Roy Prior of Newton-le-Willows: Brian Mitchell of Upton on the Willows and Keith Scowcroft of Tottington.

The Judges were: Bob Dobson (Chairman of the Society), Peter Wright (Secretary) and Alan Bond, last year's winner of the Laycock Trophy.